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Nantucket Quakers and the Milford Haven Whaling Industry, c. 1791–1821*

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Abstract

The advent of the American War of Independence not only saw a shift in mid-Atlantic politics but also occasioned a transformation in the economic networks that had existed from the opening up of the American colonies in the seventeenth century. One particular community affected by these tensions was the Nantucket Quaker-whalers whose determination to carry on their trade while attempting to maintain neutrality led to sequestration of their goods and ships, occupation of the homes and ultimately a repositioning of their industry. This article explains the reasons for their migration, the protracted negotiations with the British government and the eventual settlement of a number of the Quaker-whalers at Milford Haven in west Wales. It also explores the central roles of Sir William Hamilton, Sir Charles Greville, William Rotch Snr and his decision to briefly relocate his business in France as well as the personal experiences of Rotch, his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, the diarist, Abiel Folger and the other settlers at Milford.

Keywords

Whaling, Milford Haven, Nantucket, Pembrokeshire, Rotch, Folger, Wales, Greville, Hamilton

In his seminal study of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Wales the Reverend Thomas Mardy Rees wrote that

> The part played by Quakers in the development of industries in Wales is a romantic chapter. Many of them were enterprising pioneers in brass-making, iron and copper smelting. Some became leather merchants, china manufacturers, makers of chemicals, and tin, etc…. As businessmen, they were courageous and persistent, and as masters, humane and respected. They imparted a new meaning to labour, and crafts and industries became more honourable.[1]

Among his brief observations about the Friends and industry in Wales, Rees investigated the Nantucket (Mass.) Quakers who settled in Pembrokeshire at the end of the eighteenth century.[2] In 1792, after a preliminary inspection by Samuel Starbuck Jnr a year earlier, the first of the Nantucket Quakers arrived in west Wales and, encouraged by Sir William Harcourt (1743–1830) and Sir Charles Francis Greville (1749–1809),[3]

they quickly established Milford Haven as the focal point for a new whaling industry.[4] It is from this time that the modern history of Milford Haven can be dated, and it is to the industrious nature of these Quaker-whalers that the town owes much of its heritage.

The Pembrokeshire Quaker community had existed for nearly 150 years before the Nantucket whalers settled at Milford in 1792. There are many references to Friends in the county from the mid-1650s, and George Fox visited the small community in 1657 and again in 1669.[5] Towards the late eighteenth century, the Welsh Quaker community had, however, dramatically declined. Emigration to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, along with marriage outside the Society, had severely depleted the Quaker presence in Wales,[6] and the Haverfordwest meeting was the only regularly held Meeting for Worship in Pembrokeshire.[7] The influx of a number of Quaker families in the county, therefore, gave the Society new momentum. Yet who were these Nantucket Quaker-whalers? What drove these people to establish this new and vibrant community in Wales? What were their experiences, and what role did Nantucket Friends play in Pembrokeshire life between c. 1792 and 1821?

The emigration of Quakers from the British Isles in the last quarter of the seventeenth century[8] had helped swell the growing ranks of Protestant dissenters who had sought a life free from religious persecution in America.[9] Yet, prior to this mass migration, in 1659 the unwillingness of Friends to conform to the strictures imposed on them by the civil authorities in New England forced many members, along with Baptists and other 'liberal-minded puritans', to relocate to the island of Nantucket. The Quaker families, led by Nathaniel and Edward Starbuck, a cordwainer from Dover, New Hampshire, purchased considerable land from the native population at Nantucket.[10] They quickly set about building the town of Sherborn, the establishment of the whaling industry,[11] and the erection of a Quaker meeting house. For well over a century these Quaker-whalers were able to make a substantial living as the Southern Whaling Fishery,[12] but this was swiftly brought to an end by the declaration of war between the thirteen colonies of the United States and Britain. From 1776 the American War of Independence caused considerable consternation and divided loyalties for the peaceable North American Quaker community, particularly the Nantucket Quaker-whalers. As pacifists, the Nantucket Quakers were unwilling to declare their support for the American or British cause, and consequently they had their vessels and goods seized. As one Friend noted:

> Most of the inhabitants of that island were of that sect, and, professing peace principles, they endeavored to preserve a strict neutrality during the Revolutionary War. The consequence of this was, that they were made the prey of both parties, and my grandfather (William Rotch) was often deputed to carry their grievances before the Provisional Government of the Colony, and also to the head-quarters of the British commanders. This was a service of great danger, and his life was often in jeopardy; but his courage and presence of mind were always equal to the occasion, and he saved the island from utter devastation, though not from heavy losses of property. Two hundred vessels were captured by the English, and he lost to the amount of sixty thousand dollars. In one night the boats of a man-of-war, commanded by midshipmen, landed

> their crews on Nantucket, and burnt ten thousand dollars' worth of oil for my grandfather, besides destroying the property of others.
>
> At the close of the war, when peace and independence had been conquered, the inhabitants of Nantucket found themselves in a ruinous condition; their commerce and their fishery were destroyed, and many left the island to seek their fortunes on the mainland; others preferred to continue in the whale-fishery if they could find a place where it could be pursued to advantage.[13]

In April 1779 the Quaker community, unable to make a living, sent a deputation to plead their case before Commodore Sir George Collier, commander of the Navy, and Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief of the British army, at New York.[14] Their failure to gain permission for future voyages was subsequently followed by the impeachment of four Friends, including William Rotch Snr (1734–1828),[15] an extremely wealthy and influential Quaker, the occupation of the island and the looting of the Quakers' oil supplies and other goods. One Friend, William Hussey, lost £350 worth of produce and once again, the Quakers were suffering maltreatment because of their long-held convictions against warfare. Between 1779 and 1783, in spite of several appeals to the American authorities explaining their religious principles,[16] they continued to endure adversity. It is, however, not surprising that they received little response from the Americans for, although the Quakers professed neutrality, they had nevertheless supplied the British navy with oil at Sherborn at a time when all other ports were closed to them. It ought to be pointed out here that the Friends saw a distinction between assisting the war effort by supplying weaponry, but believed that selling oil to anyone who would buy it was, in their opinion, an economic necessity for the survival of their community. Nevertheless, in 1780, when captured by the French navy on board a ship which bore a British flag, Timothy Folger, a leading member of the Nantucket Friends, refused to give assurances of his loyalty to America. Furthermore, he asserted that he was prepared to suffer further indignities and deprivation.[17] One Nantucketeer commented in 1779 that many of the whalers had relocated to the London fisheries to find work and this had a very noticeable effect on the town of Sherborn, which was described as 'a deserted village rather than a flourishing town'.[18] Their distress continued in spite of the Treaty of Paris in 1782, which ended the war between Britain and America, as the British government classified the Quaker-whalers as foreign traders and their cargo as taxable. Subsequently, they placed an £18. 3*d*. import tariff on a barrel of Nantucket oil which, along with increased competition in whaling, particularly from the London Southern Whale Fisheries,[19] and a glut in the sperm oil market, crippled their already ailing economy, both on and offshore.[20]

By 1783 the Nantucket Quaker community was facing ruin. It had appealed to the American General Court of Massachusetts to declare the island 'neutral', but naturally this was bitterly resented by those Americans who had recently fought for their independence. Although they received no assistance from that quarter, J. Parr, Governor of Nova Scotia, who had recognised the importance of the whale industry, offered the Nantucketers a lifeline. He invited the Quaker 'Loyalists' to settle at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia,[21] accept British citizenship, and obtain a reduction in import tax.[22] More than forty families took advantage of this offer.[23] In recognition

of their personal sacrifices, Timothy Folger, Samuel Starbuck and their wives were given £169 pension each by the Nova Scotia Assembly, while a further sum of £1,500 was distributed among the other Quaker families.[24] It was during this time, in spite of great opposition from London merchants, that great efforts were made to induce the Nantucketers to look at Milford Haven as a possible base for their whaling activities.

Milford at this time was a rather bleak, unpopulated and undeveloped area with only a few scattered houses, two roads and no amenities.[25] While conducting a tour to Milford Haven in September 1791, Mrs Morgan, a visitor to the area, wrote to Miss B. from Haverfordwest noting that:

> This part of the river exceeds every other in extent, and is diversified and ornamented by all sublime and beautiful objects… Woods, rocks, bays, promontories, and vessels sailing in and out of port, render the scene truly enchanting… We walked over the cliffs as far as our feet would carry us, and extended our view towards the mouth of the harbour, which is of prodigious circumference and grandeur. In this haven, it is said, the whole British navy may lie without seeing each other's masts.[26]

Apart from the natural harbour, Milford would hardly have enticed businessmen to develop a new commercial venture and establish a town. So, why did the Quakers settle in this location? The credit for bringing the Nantucketers to Wales must go largely to two men, Sir William Hamilton of Linlithgow (1730–1803),[27] and Sir Charles Greville, the Member of Parliament for Warwick who had held various senior posts, including Lord of Trade c. 1774–80, Lord of Admiralty c. 1780–82 and Treasurer of the Household in the Coalition Government of 1783. Both men saw the potential for a large port at Milford, and made great efforts to secure Government approval and investment for the building of a town and new port. Quakers, such as Thomas Owen who wrote from Waterford to the American whalers, also assisted these two men in their endeavours to persuade the Friends to settle Milford. Owen stated:

> Meeting of Friends. A small one in Haverfordwest
>
> People of Pembrokeshire rather comfortable in themselves, civil to strangers and hospitable in their houses having little or no propensity to trade farther than the verge of their respective farms; coal mines, slate or limestone quarry, great number of hardy watermen employed at herring fishing carrying lime coal and culm round the coast dragging for oisters etc. wages small.
>
> Manufactory stockings coarse and fine all yarn made of wool made in the Country, great quantity of coarse woollen Cloth made in a neighbouring County Merioneth sent to the London Market undyed for clothing the Army, use of Slobb Shops etc. etc.
>
> Centrical situation of Milford Haven, about 18 hours sail to Bristol, same to Cork and Dublin, 10 to Waterford and about 24 to Liverpool. The first mentioned but more especially the last carry on a very extensive trade to the interior parts of the kingdom by the long rivers and canells, great advantage arising by getting to her mooring immediately from the sea… It's also well worth observing the contiguity of Milford with Ireland where the Newfoundland Fishermen come from all parts of England to victual or man.
>
> Disadvantages. Little or no oil. Bone etc. can be disposed of in Milford Haven.[28]

The manor of Hubberston and Pill[29] had descended to Catherine Barlow, a wealthy heiress of £8,000 per annum. In 1758, she married William Hamilton,[30] and thereafter Hamilton took great interest in the development of the estate, particularly the Cresswell coalfield.[31] On 15 March 1764, he wrote in a letter that 'I think that there is now a better chance of the Haking becoming considerable as this ministry seem to be inclined to attend a little to Milford, at least I hear so, but we shall probably have a little conversation upon the subject in the House soon.'[32] His appointment as Ambassador to the court of Naples later that year, however, forced him to abandon his initial interest. Charles Greville was an educated and cultivated individual,[33] but further investigation reveals that he was also a schemer or, at best, a wheeler-dealer.[34] One of Hamilton's advisors called him 'a little too sanguine and speculative',[35] and that is about right, if somewhat generous! Nevertheless, he did regard the development of Milford Haven as 'a national project',[36] which would involve the building of a quay, a customs house, warehouses and facilities for passengers who were travelling to Ireland.[37]

In 1792, through his tireless efforts and powers of persuasion, as well as those of his close business associates in London, Greville was commissioned to establish a new town in west Wales, and offered the Nantucketers the opportunity to embark upon a new whaling enterprise on the Daugleddau.[38] McKay has observed that he pressed 'the advantages to be gained by developing the port, particularly in relation to trade with the Americas'.[39] Throughout the 1780s Greville had promoted the Quaker-whalers' cause with the Board of Trade, arguing that the trade in rice, tobacco, timber and tar could be extended with the building of a new port, which had 'the shores of the best sheltered and most commodious waterway in the land'.[40] He was nevertheless thwarted in his initial efforts. In his correspondence with the London Whaling Merchants there were signs of earlier frustration with members of the Board of Trade, particularly with Samuel Enderby. In 1785 the Board had blocked an earlier approach made to William Rotch Snr who had suggested that he could bring thirty manned whaling ships, craftsmen and their families to a British port.[41] Greville suggested that Charles Jenkinson (Lord Hawkesbury),[42] Enderby and other members of the Board, had 'tended to limit the liberality and justice of this country to the Nantucketeers…[and]…deprived me of a chance of settling Mr Rotch and his family at Milford.'[43]

Thus, although Greville saw the port as the perfect area to develop a successful commercial centre,[44] he clearly experienced difficulty persuading the British government to endorse his plan. One reason for the prevarication of the government was the anxiety of London merchants who acted as defenders of British maritime trade, and had lobbied the Board. They argued that 'to solicit foreigners to participate who cannot exist much longer in their own country in that branch of commerce, would not only show our weakness but must in a short time be the ruin of the fishery'.[45] Furthermore, it is worth considering the initial resentment of the authorities in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, to any proposed relocation of the whaling industry. The Governor and Speaker of the House of Assembly complained bitterly to the provincial agent in London that 'there is a design…to draw away the whole Fishery from this place to Milford Haven, which, if affected, will be the utter ruin of this

province', and that such an action would be a 'fatal blow aimed against the Province, and if pursued, will be universally considered as an Act of highest injustice'.[46] Nevertheless, the plan for the development of the Pembrokeshire estate, which had been shelved while Hamilton was in Naples, had by 1790 received government approval, or at least he had the right to build a 'Proprietary Town'. This gave the two men the authority to 'make and provide Quays, Docks, Piers, and other erections; and to establish a Market, with proper Roads and Avenues thereto respectively, with the Manor or Lordship of Hubberston and Pill in the County of Pembroke'.[47]

In the summer of 1791, after negotiations with Lord Greville, the Home and Colonial Secretary, Greville's agent Charles Stokes,[48] and the Nantucket and Nova Scotia Quakers, Samuel Starbuck Jnr and other Quaker representatives made a preliminary visit to London.[49] Their purpose was to establish the viability of the scheme, and to negotiate favourable terms with Greville. On behalf of the Government, Greville offered very generous terms which included the full value of the property at Dartmouth;[50] removal expenses;[51] compensation for the period they were on board the ship to Wales; and a £1000 worth of timber and stone.[52] They were also to be provided with

> easy accommodation, Protection and Preference…a peppercorn rent for the Site of a Meeting House and Burying Ground and exemption from all Ground Rents for 2 years from Midsummer 1791. It is promised that the new settlers will not embarrass themselves with agriculture but depend on the markets which the richness of the country can supply to any degree of increased population. Lands may be rented in the neighbourhood for 7 or 14 years from 18 to 30 shillings an acre according to their quality and more distant situations cheaper.[53]

Consequently, between May and July 1792, six Nantucket Quaker families set sail aboard the *Sierra Leone* and the *Aurora* bound for Milford.[54] These included Samuel Starbuck Snr,[55] aged 64, and Abigail, his wife. He had good connections with Quaker entrepreneurs in Ireland,[56] and, according to one Irish Quaker visitor[57] to Milford, he was 'a sensible man'.[58] Accompanying him was his son, Samuel Starbuck Jnr and his wife, Lucretia, and their children. He was the key figure in the migration of the Nantucket Quakers to Wales, and seems to have been an astute individual who, like many Quaker entrepreneurs, was adept at bargaining. Other emigrants were his brother, Daniel Starbuck, and Alice, his wife, and their children; Timothy Folger Snr, aged 60, a magistrate for the County of Halifax, Nova Scotia,[59] and his wife, Abiel, whose diary has offered colour to the experiences of Friends in west Wales and will be referred to later in this study; Captain Zacharia Bunker, and Judith, his wife, and children;[60] Captain Uriah Bunker (single); Captain Charles Gardner (single?); Captain Elisha Clark, his wife, Elizabeth and their children; Captain James Gwinn who emigrated without his family; Ruth Bunker, a single woman who applied for membership while at Milford;[61] and David and Margaret (Peggy) Grieve, Abiel Folger's daughter, similarly settled at Milford until January 1796.[62] Apart from the Quaker families it was intended that the Nantucketers would bring with them 13 ships (75 tons each), 182 sailors, and various craftsmen.[63] Significantly, however, Greville and Hamilton found that many of the Quakers defaulted in 1792 because of

their suspicions of the British government and the private deals made with the Starbucks and Folgers.[64] In addition, Hamilton and Greville had been unable to persuade William Rotch Snr to settle in Wales.

During the War of Independence, Rotch had sought to preserve the spiritual and financial integrity of the Quaker community at Nantucket. Nevertheless, by 1786, because of the war and the behaviour of the Americans, Rotch and his family faced ruin. He had lost $60,000 during the conflict and had appealed to the British government at the time for help. In November 1785 he had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer/Prime Minister, William Pitt, and in 1786 he had two meetings with Lord Hawkesbury, but failed to gain a quick response or reasonable terms for settlement.[65] A third meeting was arranged, but with his patience exhausted, Rotch declined the offer. In September he was again approached by the government, and the Treasury Secretary informed him that the Prime Minister accepted that he could specify his 'own terms'.[66] At this time the Nantucket Quakers had been invited to establish their business at Dunkerque, France, by Laban Coffin who listed the advantages to be gained by this action.[67] In a later letter to his family at Nantucket, Rotch wrote:

> I told him [George Rose, one of William Pitt's secretaries] it was too late—'I made my very moderate proposals to you, but could not obtain anything worth my notice—I went to France, sent forward my proposals, which were doubly advantageous to what I had offered your Government—They considered them but a short time, and on my arrival in Paris were ready to act. I had separate interviews with all the Ministers of State necessary to the subject (five in number) who all agreed to and granted my demands. This was effected in five hours, when I waited to be called by your Privy Council more than four months'.[68]

In 1787 he sent his son, Benjamin, to 'superintend' the business at Dunkerque, while he returned to New Bedford. He joined the émigrés in 1790 along with his wife, two daughters, and his daughter-in-law and grandchild.[69] While in France, William tried to persuade the French revolutionary government to avoid entanglement in any future conflict between Britain and America. On 10 February 1791, William and Benjamin, along with Jean de Marsillac, a French Quaker, petitioned the National Assembly to avoid war at all costs.[70] Later that year William wrote to Thomas, his son, that he was hoping to return to America as soon as possible,[71] but was still there in September 1792 and described the unsafe conditions:

> the Stream of Blood that lately has been open'd; dreadful indeed in the extremes; as the National convention meets about this time, I wish they may strike out some mode to restore the Nation from its present agitated state, and the cool deliberation may take place to produce tranquility… We are at present quiet here, and have no reason to expect this place will be besieg'd, unless the City of Lil[l]e (about 48 miles from here) which is very strong, should be attack'd & taken; it is not yet invaded, though there are apprehensions for its safety; if that should be subdued, it's not improbable but we may have a visit, if it should be the case its likely we may remove, but we are unwilling to flee without real danger appears, at present I believe our family are favour'd with a degree of calmness, that I hope will not desert us.[72]

By early 1793 he had left Dunkerque for England but expressed severe doubts about the continuation of the whaling business while Britain was at war with France.[73] Rotch eventually returned once more to Nantucket in 1794 and spent the remaining years of his life at New Bedford.[74]

With the exception of the Rotch family, Greville had been successful in persuading many of the Quaker-whalers to relocate to Milford, but it was clear at the outset that a considerable effort would be needed to provide suitable accommodation and amenities for them. According to her letter of 1791, Mrs Morgan noted that Greville was 'going to build a handsome town… It will be a public benefit as it will provide a great accession of trade to this corner of the country.'[75] Thirty-four years earlier in 1757, a government committee had already reported upon the plans and estimates for fortifying Milford Haven, and had made a survey of the harbour.[76] These plans were nevertheless rejected for financial reasons. A modified scheme costing £10,000 was reluctantly approved, but this was insufficient to meet the demands of the Government. Another Bill was introduced in 1758, but the proposed plan was never completed.[77] From the late 1780s, however, Greville, with Hamilton's agreement, had been active in the expansion of the Pembrokeshire estate, especially the town and port facilities at Milford. The Government's decision in 1790 to support the scheme as well as the arrival of the North American Quaker families quickened the pace of Milford's development.

In June 1792, Samuel and Lucretia Starbuck and their family arrived in Pembrokeshire and initially settled at Haverfordwest. Another five Quaker families arrived the following September,[78] and were settled at Robeston Hall, two miles away from the proposed new town of Milford.[79] Sir Charles Greville arranged the accommodation, and details are provided in the agreement between Greville and Henry Scourfield,[80] and in letters sent by Greville to Richard Foley of Haverfordwest.[81] In one undated letter, Greville wrote:

> I have more people than I can get room for, & the airing of the House will do good to it… I wish you would make the conditions & Rent as Easy as possible For one year—your good nature, & public spirit will wise you to take an interest in the rendering of the situation of these *valuable people* as *comfortable as possible*.[82]

Robeston Hall was later described by Flora Thomas as 'a farm house', but had 'traces of having been a mansion of some size and dignity'.[83] The experience of living at Robeston Hall was not, however, a pleasant one for the Nantucketers. On 6 January 1795, Timothy Folger wrote to Greville that the Friends were having some difficulty with Leach the gardener, which was making their stay at Robeston increasingly unpleasant. Leach had been admitted into the kitchen and had refused to leave and, according to Folger, had not behaved in a dignified manner. Folger commented further that:

> we make our own malt and brew Beer…we likewise keep a Horse and Cow, that the stable adjoining the House is usefull, the Cow we have in part fed on the small Lawn in front of the House, in the fold, and on the back ground of the House—we have occasionally Locked the brew house to preserve the Rain water, he [Leach] has wrench'd the lock from the door without making any application for the key.[84]

The situation worsened with Leach's abusive behaviour to Folger's daughter, and his belligerent questioning of the Quaker's rights to the property.[85] On 12 January 1795, Greville informed Richard Foley that Leach would be permitted to reside in his garden house only and had undertaken not to interfere with the Friends' business interests. The Nantucketers were given 'leave to shew civility to Leach by accommodating him so long as the civility was returned', but it transpired that, along with Leach's abusive nature, the owner's young son, Mr Scourfield, had entered their lodgings without permission. Greville asked Foley to deal quickly with the problem and to inform Leach of the consequences which 'he will inevitably draw on himself if in addition to incivility he continues to act illegally…and that Leach shall not have any thing to do in the House or offices'.[86]

During the mid-1790s, anxious to provide accommodation for their community, the Quakers applied to Greville for sufficient land to build homes. This was accepted, and Greville appointed quarrymen, masons and carpenters to provide materials and begin work on the building of the town and the construction of a single quay.[87] By November 1803, Samuel Starbuck Jnr had leased a plot of land in First Street,[88] while his brother, Daniel, leased a further plot opposite the Custom House (again on First Street),[89] and the Folgers quickly followed them. In 1793, as a result of the increasing political turmoil and violence in France,[90] the Rotch family left Dunkerque. They had a house in London before Benjamin Rotch bought a house on First Street, Milford, and later the Castle Hall in Steynton Parish.[91] The Hall had large grounds, gardens, hot-houses, conservatories, woods and a beautiful sea-view. Along with his wife, Elizabeth, and their large family, Rotch lavishly entertained other Quakers and leading members of Pembrokeshire society at the manor and aboard his yacht.[92] It was such a contrast with their experiences in France and London that Rotch's daughter, Eliza (1791–1870), stated 'We were all so much pleased with our country life, and my father took so much delight in farming the land, and improving the pleasure-grounds, that the new house in Milford was no inducement to leave it.'[93] Yet for young Eliza this new life at Castle Hall, although charming, was somewhat tiresome, as she recounted much later:

> We children were rather glad when it was accidentally destroyed by fire. Seven acres of ornamental grounds and gardens gave my father ample scope for his love of improving and embellishing the place; he made ugly slopes into pretty terraces, formed new land in front of the house, built an orangery eighty feet long and twenty feet high, entirely of iron and glass, and filled it with the finest orange, lemon, and citron-trees from a celebrated orangery in a distant county… He made pineries too,—three houses, hot, hotter, and hottest,—in which three hundred fine, large pine-apples were produced in one year. The climate was very mild. We had monthly roses blooming out of doors all winter, and a hedge of laurestine, which enclosed a rosegarden, was always in full bloom in February. All these improvements, with the high cultivation of English gardening, not usually practised in Wales, made Castle Hall a show-place. The orangery and the pinery were a great novelty in Pembrokeshire, and I remember being very tired of showing them to our visitors.[94]

By 1796, Greville had persuaded the Navy Board to negotiate a contract with a London financier, Mr Jacob, to build ships for the navy at Hubberston Pill. Initially, three ships were built,[95] and this gave new impetus to the building of the port town of Milford. In the following year, Jean Louis Barrallier, a French architect from Toulon and counter-revolutionary, came to Milford to supervise the building of the naval yard and the construction of ships.[96] Also present at Milford from the early 1790s was William Jermingham, an architect, who was responsible for the building of the hotel, customs house, the development of brick kilns, as well as ensuring that sufficient stone could be quarried for the houses and quay.[97] In June 1797 a letter from Greville to Samuel Stabuck Snr gave the Frenchman a wider remit. Barralier, Starbuck had been informed, was to

> give every preference to your accommodation in my power. He has the Plans of Milford and he is limited by me to certain points which are essential to you as well as all future settlers… I have desired him to give you his opinion as to Ovens, Granary etc…. I am clear that the Bakery business may be greatly extended, therefore wish you to consider the present as a beginning and not huddle all together to the risque of premises and neighbourhood.

Greville further noted that Barralier had been given the power

> to any open negociation with any person inclining to build, which till now I could not do for want of a fixt plan… I have desired Mr Barralier immediately to begin to build a store for me at the time he builds his own, and you will be so good as to give him such assistance as in your power… I do not wish a day to be lost in what he builds, and as one of his sons is an architect as well as himself I have desired him to employ workmen and it will be for the general benefit as well as for yours that he gets the country prices and conforms as much to country customs as possible.[98]

Later Barrallier, according to Starbuck, had quickly 'marked out the plots and acted as Superintendent of Building'.[99] This, Flora Thomas has suggested, meant that the town was constructed on a gridiron pattern:

> The building of the quay having been first got under way, and the Inn arranged for, other buildings were projected, and the future town began to take shape… There were to be three long streets parallel with each other, and cut down at right angles from the upper to the lower streets… The town was to extend to an equal distance on each side of the church, east and west.[100]

McKay believes that there was no definite plan of construction and that the 'American gridiron pattern is most probably no more than an attractive myth'.[101] Whatever the case, by 1800 an hotel had been built,[102] and other members of this small community started to build new houses and amenities away from First Street, including Samuel Starbuck Snr, who built a house more commonly known as Priory Lodge, while at Steynton Village, Uriah Bunker owned a house which was later converted into the Bunker's Hill Hotel.[103] By 1810 the town could boast 150 houses, many businesses, several roads and other amenities.

The arrival of these American whalers certainly caused a revival in the Quaker meetings in west Wales. By 1806, however, many of these immigrants had failed to settle and had returned to Nantucket, where the whaling industry had been

re-launched, or to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. But what were the experiences of the Nantucket Quakers and whalers while they lived in Wales? Between November 1792 and May 1795, the monthly meeting of Pembrokeshire Friends received removal certificates from the Nantucket meeting overseers who were in charge of supplying information about their former members.[104] Led by Samuel Starbuck Snr and Timothy Folger, who owned five whaling boats, the North Americans quickly set about establishing their commercial enterprise. Benjamin Rotch owned a similar number of whaling boats, and used Milford as a stopping-off point before continuing the voyage to London. In spite of their earlier reservations about Milford, the Rotch family became increasingly committed to the development of the town and gave it substantial financial backing. Benjamin's son, Francis, and Samuel Starbuck Jnr along with Samuel Levi Philipps (and his sons), established the Milford and Haverfordwest Bank which continued to do business at Milford until 1810.[105]

Other Quakers also set about creating local businesses. For example, Samuel Starbuck Snr built a mill at Priory and a bakery, which proved to be a notable commercial success. This was certainly supported by Greville who observed: 'I think well of the Bakery business, it should be well established tho' not expensively. Ovens should multiply on success… If I can be of any use to Ben [Rotch], let me know.'[106] Later, Paul Starbuck was involved in supplying wheat,[107] and in 1808, Gayer Starbuck built a brewery, which presumably must have provided employment in the area.[108] After the death of Sir William Hamilton in 1803, Greville assumed total command of the project and quickly outlined his intentions. On 14 June 1803 he wrote:

> Having created a town by removing obstacles artificially opposed to the Enjoyment of natural advantages of situation I have been obliged to find funds for Public Establishments such as local Quays, Customs House for the Revenue officers, Inn, market & I am at the last of the essential appendages of a Town a Church, wch I hope to finish in the course of a year. And I hope to be able to imitate the benevolence of Sr Thos White & of Thomas Sutton by founding a College to form an appendage to the monastic Establishment of schools & limited to Classes of Mathematicks and their application to Mechanicks, Military and Naval and Civil Engineering, Construction of ships, Navigation and Survey and drawing. I am satisfied with the progress of my Town, its situation makes every house visible… I am building a Church on the East End and barracks will be in the West End by which an extended line of a Mile gives to an Infant Colony the appearance of a Town and the Dockyard with 3 King's ships, the dock &c., form a busy scene… I intend for Milford may become in Time a solid benefit & not only to the Indigent but in present to the gentry of moderate fortune who by the College may qualify their sons for all professions & give them the means of exerting to advantage all the Qualities they are capable of Cultivating.[109]

Although these were local and important occupations, the major business at Milford was whaling. From accounts left behind by Benjamin Rotch's daughter, Eliza, and from a diary kept by Abiel Coleman Folger between 1806 and 1811, a vivid insight into the day-to-day experience of these Quaker whalemen and their 'greasy trip' is offered. In Eliza's recollection she commented on both the development of the town and the whaling industry:

> A large hotel was built, and Mr Greville's influence caused a custom-house and post-office to be established there. He granted long leases of land, at very low rents, and houses sprang up like magic. My father had all the land he wanted for warehouses and a dwelling-house, for a mere nominal ground-rent, and Mr Greville obtained for him all the privileges and bounties that he had enjoyed in France… Coopers, sailmakers, ship-carpenters, and all the other tradesmen necessary to my father's business, came and settled in Milford, on the prospect of the whale fishery being carried on from that port, and great was the excitement and satisfaction when the first vessel arrived from America loaded with sperm-oil. The cargo was sent round to London in coasting vessels, and the ship was immediately refitted for a voyage to the Pacific Ocean.[110]

It was, however, a strange experience for these Quaker-whalers, especially the Rotch family, as Eliza commented:

> Wales being a conquered country, and the peasantry and yeomanry still speaking a different language from their conquerors, their civilization did not keep pace with that of England. It was allowed to be a hundred years behind, and the manners and customs of all classes were of course very different from those of the English… It was a great trial to my parents to leave a large circle of congenial friends, and the high state of civilization which London afforded, and plant themselves in a strange land and among such a different kind of people.[111]

Moreover, as a close-knit community these Quaker-whalers combined their talents, and kept their whaling traditions and techniques secret even if it put their own lives in danger. For example, in December 1807, in an attempt to rig a ship during a gale, George Starbuck carried off a cable 'at a grat risque of his life'.[112]

Abiel Folger's diary similarly provides information about the daily activities of this community while the minutes of Friends meetings offer additional details. It is clear that these Quaker families played a significant role in local and national affairs as Timothy Folger was appointed American consul and surveyor of ships, while Samuel Starbuck Jnr was selected to be in charge of wrecks and their cargoes. His brother, Daniel, was a merchant and farmer, and both Daniel and his son, Gayer, established the aforementioned brewery.[113] The rejuvenation of the Quaker meeting in Pembrokeshire is also reflected in the positions held by the Americans and their efforts to establish a Quaker community. From October 1794 meetings for worship were promptly held at Milford[114] where Daniel Starbuck acted as clerk,[115] and Samuel Starbuck Jnr had taken up the position of Treasurer to the monthly meeting.[116] In March 1811 a new meeting house was opened at Milford at a cost of £563,[117] which Abiel Folger described as 'a snug neet thing'.[118] The Friends, nevertheless, had to be determined if they were to survive at Milford and elsewhere. Elizabeth, the wife of Benjamin Rotch, it has been suggested, was a very dogged individual who had a quick brain. As a child she disobeyed her teacher by refusing to hand over a note written to her by a school-friend. She put the note in her mouth and stated 'If thee insists of having it, I'll THWALLOW it!'[119] Her determined nature was evident when she stayed with her husband at Dunkerque while the port was besieged by the British fleet. Many others had scurried away, especially when food became scarce! Cunningly, she hid her supplies from the British officers in her bed, feigning illness, and asked them to search the rest of the house.[120]

As for the diarist, Abiel, there are also signs that she was a woman of great fortitude. Of course, she expressed regrets about leaving America. She was fifty-five years old when she left for Milford, and had waved goodbye to several of her children and other relatives. Many of these immigrants must undoubtedly have found the transition difficult to accept. Indeed, after visiting Milford in November 1785 William Rotch Snr wrote to Samuel Rodman, 'I suppose it is the best harbour in England or Wales… But for my part I prefer one of the ports of the English Channel.'[121] It was a three-week sea-journey (24 days) from North America, and for some there was acute disappointment. In her diary Abiel wrote on 22 September 1808: 'This Day Sixteen years I stepd my feet on welch land and a grevous Day it was to me.'[122] This seems to run contrary to a letter from Greville to his brother in September 1792 which suggested that the Quakers 'admired the harbour and country very much saying that it had been represented a desert and they find it as fine grass enclosures as they wish to see'.[123] It must, however, have been daunting for the early settlers who bore witness to a bleak landscape with barely a few houses and little else. For Quaker women at Milford it was a lonely existence, as Abiel points out. In the foreword to her diary she wrote: 'I only keep a Diary so that when I receive a letter from any of my children, I look back to see what I was doing or where I was—it makes it seam but little time since it was wrote.'[124] On 23 July 1807, she noted that: 'I have set [*sic*] alone all Day', while two days later she remarked: 'have no company this Day'. Finally, on 5 October 1807 she forlornly commented 'alone all Day and rather lonely thinking of my absent children all the time'.[125]

The Nantucket women were always fearful of disease or shipping disasters, as revealed in Abiel's diary. For example, she noted on 24 October 1807 that 'this morn we had the news of George Shaw being kild with a whale'. The following month she wrote that Samuel Starbuck Jnr had succumbed to an illness which left his face 'much sweld but it is not so pain full but is a shocking thing', while on 21 December 1807 a fire on board a brig in the harbour had burnt fifteen men and killed one of the crew.[126] In January 1808 she also reported the loss of Gayer Starbuck's sloop, while in the following February she noted that a storm was the worse she had 'ever seen' and it left 'many vessel on the shore in the harbor'.[127] On 2 February 1810, Folger referred to a remedy for an asthmatic illness she suffered from. She wrote:

> I this Day began Smooking Stermonian for my breth or American black thorn it is a Dadly pison [poison] to Eat it but the root washd & dryd & cut small smokd & Swallow tak a bit of bread into the mouth & Swallow it after you have done you must hav a clean pipe often of the oyl will hurt the throat & mouth I find it to help me.

The next day she commented that it had been bought by Benjamin Rotch while he was in London, but by the third day it was not having the desired effect as Abiel complained: 'still I am smooking but has made my mouth very soar so shall stope a while'.[128]

The illness and subsequent death of leading Friends also had a significant impact on the small Quaker community. For example, in 1801 when Abigail, the wife of Samuel Starbuck Snr, died, Greville wrote to Benjamin Rotch in September 1801 that:

> Those who best knew her must be the most confident that her exemplary life will be rewarded by eternal bliss. The decision of her friends to deposit the remains at Milford is particularly grateful to me. May her memory inspire those who may expect to be deposited near her with an imitation of her in the various duties in which she always appeared eminently correct, and I am sure none of the Society can be more sincere in regret, and in condolence to her friends than I am. I desire you may say some words of comfort to Saml. Starbuck for me.[129]

In June 1809, Abiel wrote in her diary about the death of her nephew, George Folger. She noted that 'all the compney who were so intamate are gon and it is little consaquance now who went first, but it fell to my Dear Son, then to William Folger & Peleg Coffin and now to Georg, but they are gon to whair we are all Hastning a pace'. In May 1810, she similarly recorded the death of Captain Shaw, presumably from a heart attack, and how Elisa Shaw was 'inconsulable' at the loss of such a husband who was 'one of the best men' and a 'grate loss [to] Milford'. This was a significant blow for the community—Abiel observed that it led to the removal of the Shaw family and 'a lonely House shut up where often ware Entertaind with the gratest Hospetality but it has cast a gloom over Milford not be repaird'.[130]

The effect of these deaths was compounded by the resignation of leading members from the Society, notably Benjamin Rotch, who wrote to Friends in 1813 that

> Having for many years differed in opinion from the respectable Society of Friends on the subject of Tythes my refusal to pay them has been in mere conformity to its Rules, but from no conviction of any religious obligation, and after mature deliberation, my mind being fully convinced that the withholding Tythes from those who have a legal claim to them is more criminal than paying them, I have decided to comply in future with all such demands but unwilling (as a member) to deviate from the rules of a Society which I not only respect & esteem, but the fundamental Principles of which I generally revere, I do hereby resign my membership in that Society.[131]

Reluctantly, Samuel and Daniel Starbuck accepted his resignation.[132] A few years later Rotch was in great financial difficulty, declared bankrupt, but was nevertheless assisted by Friends despite his earlier resignation. McKay has, however, noted that the removal of Rotch to London in 1819

> marked an end to Charles Francis Greville's dream of establishing a thriving whaling industry as the foundation upon which could be built the future prosperity of both the town and his heirs. It did something more in that, after Rotch left, the Quaker presence in the town lost much of its hitherto aura of separateness; they quickly became fully integrated into the business life of the community at large.[133]

There were, however, moments of light relief and spiritual gratification, especially when relatives or other Friends visited the Quaker community from Nantucket, Dartmouth (Nova Scotia) and Ireland.[134] In 1809 there were several references to the visit of 'Cornal' Greville and Lady Mansfield to Abiel's home as well as a commentary on Welsh social niceties. On 22 September 1809 she noted 'all the jentry calling to make their bows to Grevel'.[135] There are also many references in the diary to her

purchases and gifts from neighbours;[136] the making of buns, mince pies and having tea-parties; visits to Castle Hall;[137] fair and market days;[138] annual regattas[139] and other local or national events;[140] and news from American relatives.[141] In January 1808, she wrote that Samuel Starbuck Jnr's children had 'gon[e] to Shaws to a Dance' which, considering the Quaker attitude towards frivolities, is quite surprising.[142] Similarly, the attitude towards plainness is questioned in Abiel's diary entry of 12 August 1808. Here she wrote 'frind Lort & my selfe set all day chating only went into a new shop to see all the fine things'.[143] In April 1809, along with Lucretia Starbuck, she had gone to a great furniture auction where she bought a Wilton carpet and hearth rug, observing that Lucretia 'loves to go and buy fine things'.[144] Abiel, although flexible in her approach to modern tastes, would not tolerate bad behaviour. In February 1809 she dismissed her maid who had entertained 'a solder into the hous after we ware in bed'. The situation did not improve with the next maid, as Abiel did not 'lik[e] her look' as she was 'two pirt looking'. This hunch was well founded for in early March she wrote that she had 'found ower Girl one of Ill-fame & turnd her off she had gon to a Justes to try to git her 6 mo wages'. Abiel was then forced to go to court, but it was demonstrated that the maid had forged her references. Abiel was now clearly anxious to find a wholesome maid, but she noted that 'so many are bad I have partly ingaged one but will not have a bad one'.[145] On 23 June 1810, Abiel referred to the visit of the Starbucks to London and their audience with King George and the Queen:

> I went Down to see cousin Alice & she could tell me all about the Grate People in London as She was introduced to the Royall family & She says the king is a fine looking Smiling man mad[e] a low bow when he passd them. She admired his looks & the Queen & princesses all Dropd a curtecy.[146]

One important feature of the Quaker community at Milford was their large store of grain which, under the supervision of Timothy Folger, they used to help the local population avoid famine.[147] Yet, it ought to be recognised that the Friends were also a people whose religious principles would not allow them to bear arms, or, as shown earlier, to pay tithes to the Anglican Church. They regularly fell foul of the local ecclesiastical and military authorities, and were forced to endure the seizure of their goods or fines for their refusal to serve in the militia. Between 1810 and 1815, Daniel Starbuck was consistently distrained of goods for his refusal to the pay tithes to the incumbent of Steynton parish church.[148] On 5 April 1797, Samuel Starbuck Jnr too was chosen by ballot to serve in the militia, but his religious convictions meant that he could not undertake such a role. Consequently, a warrant from the authorities to pay for a substitute to the militia meant that Starbuck was distrained of his goods (ships biscuits) to the value of £10.[149]

In spite of the best efforts of Greville, the North American Quaker community did not continue to flourish at Milford. In July 1805 he had successfully petitioned Parliament to provide, under the Southern Whale Fishery Bill, for tax exemptions for five whaling ships.[150] Nevertheless, George Ross and Sir Charles Price, London merchants, opposed the financing of the whaling fleet. They claimed that the whaling families were becoming increasingly wealthy at the expense of the taxpayers. In

addition, they accused them, especially Benjamin Rotch, of purchasing and re-barrelling the oil from American ports.[151] After this, no further tax concessions were made to the Quakers, which significantly weakened the commercial enterprise. Robert Fulke Greville, who succeeded to the estate on the death of his brother, wrote of:

> the disappointments which have happened to your Friends must be attributed to the overpowering influence of the capital, which becoming jealous of their success, at length crippled cruelly that enterprise which the situation of Milford was rendering prosperous to fair speculation.[152]

Moreover, Rotch suffered a major financial disaster in 1812 when three of his ships were sunk, and in 1815 the calamitous speculation of his agent at London severely damaged both his reputation and his wealth.[153] Although there was some optimism, there was no support from the Government, and in his *A Voyage round Great Britain*, Richard Ayton noted in 1813 that the building programme had become 'stationary', particularly because the town was geographically remote.[154]

Of the immigrants, many of whom were Quakers, a large number failed to settle in west Wales and returned to Nantucket in 1806.[155] Following this period, the Quaker community went into a familiar decline, which was all too apparent elsewhere in Britain from the eighteenth century onwards.[156] By 1821 the Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting recorded that at Haverfordwest only one man whose health was failing attended weekday meeting. Consequently, the meeting was discontinued.[157] At the same time the Milford meeting was also witnessing declining fortunes as many of the Nantucketers had died while other family members had migrated to other counties.[158]

Yet what can be said about the town constructed by Greville and the Quakers who lived there from 1792? It is clear from the above account that Greville and Hamilton faced enormous personal and financial difficulties in the effort to establish a new town and a new commercial venture in west Wales. It is to their credit that the two men persevered with their ambitious project, and before their deaths saw it partially fulfilled. As J.F. Rees has observed, it is 'a tribute to Greville's powers of persuasion that the American Quakers were induced to come to Milford, for in 1793 very little had been done to carry out the schemes he had in mind. He showed great tenacity in pressing the claims of the place on the attention of the government.'[159] Within ten years, in spite of opposition from London merchants and the initial reluctance of the government, Hamilton and Greville had helped to establish the nucleus of a vibrant community that had modern amenities and good port facilities. Equally, the Quaker-whalers faced considerable difficulties during the War of Independence and in the creation of a town and port, which would meet their requirements. In common with other migrant peoples, their success was dependent upon several important factors, notably local tolerance and hospitality, and favourable economic circumstances. When these conditions changed, particularly after the death of Greville in 1809, the Quaker community suffered a slow and irreversible decline.

NOTES

* I am grateful to Dr Pamela O'Neill for allowing me to publish an extended version of my article which previously appeared in O'Neill, P. (ed.), *Nation and Federation in the Celtic World*, Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 2003, pp. 64-94.

1. Mardy Rees, T., *A History of the Quakers in Wales and their Emigration to North America*, Carmarthen: W. Spurrell & Son, 1925, p. 252.

2. Rees, *History of the Quakers in Wales*, Chapter 8. See also Griffith, S., *A History of Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, 2nd Imp., Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1995, pp. 18-26, 37-46.

3. The second son of Francis, the Earl of Warwick. A brief biography is provided in Cooper, M.P., 'Greville, Charles Francis (1749–1809)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan. 2007 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40496, accessed May 2010).

4. For useful comparisons, see Philbrick, N., *In the Heart of the Sea*, London: HarperCollins, 2000; Barrow, T., *The Whaling Trade of North-East England*, Sunderland: Sunderland University Press, 2001; David, R.G., 'Whitehaven and the Northern Whale Fishery', *Northern History* 47.1 (March 2010), pp. 117-34.

5. For details of the early Friends in Wales, see Rees, *History of the Quakers in Wales*; Williams, M.F., 'Glamorgan Quakers 1654–1900', *Morgannwg* 5 (1961), pp. 49-75; Trevett, C., *Quaker Women Prophets in England and Wales 1650–1700*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000; Allen, R.C., *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales: From Resistance to Respectability*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007.

6. For further details of Welsh Quaker emigration and reasons for the decline of the Society, see Dodd, A.H., 'The Background to the Welsh Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania', *Journal of Merioneth History and Record Society* 3.2 (1958), pp. 111-27; Jenkins, G.H., 'The Friends of Montgomeryshire in the Heroic Age', *The Montgomeryshire Collections, Journal of the Powysland Club* 76 (1988), pp. 22, 25-26; Levy, B., *Quakers and the American Family: British settlement in the Delaware Valley*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Allen, R.C., 'In Search of a New Jerusalem: A Preliminary Investigation into Welsh Quaker Emigration to North America *c.*1660–1750', *Quaker Studies* 9 (2004), pp. 31-53; Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*, pp. 182-85; Allen, 'The Making of a Holy Christian Community: Welsh Quaker Emigrants to Pennsylvania, *c.*1680–1750', in T. Kirk and L. Klusáková (eds.), *Cultural Conquests*, Prague: Philosophica et Historica, Studia Historica, 2009, pp. 45-61.

7. For details of the Pembrokeshire Quaker community, see Glamorgan Archive Service (hereafter GAS), D/DSF/364–5 (Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting minutes, not paginated); Anon., 'The Old Whaling Industry', *Friends' Intelligencer and Journal* 51 (1894), p. 157; Salmon, D., 'The Quakers of Pembrokeshire', *Transactions of the Historical Society of West Wales* IX (1920–23), pp. 1-32; Salmon, 'The Pembrokeshire Quakers' Monthly Meeting', *Transactions of the Historical Society of West Wales* XII (1927), pp. 1-24; Dunning, B., 'Britain's Yankee Whaling Town', *Architectural History* 36.4 (1985), pp. 38-41; Clayton, J., 'Nantucket Whalers in Milford Haven, Wales', *Historic Nantucket* 56.1 (Winter 2007), pp. 4-7.

8. The first great wave of Quaker immigration into America came after 1681 when Sir William Penn was granted a charter to colonise parts of north-east America, and it was from among Welsh communities that a sizeable number of these immigrants came.

9. Fischer, D.H., *Albion's Seed: Four British folkways in America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 419-62.

10. Edward Starbuck, who came from Derbyshire, had purchased five per cent of the island from Saskan, an Indian chief. Starbuck was married to Catherine (neé Renolds), a woman of Welsh stock. See Rees, *History of the Quakers in Wales*, p. 264. Among the settlers were members of the Barney, Coleman, Gayer, Hussey and Mayhew families, all of whom had some experience of whaling. See Trider, D.W., *The History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Hantsport, N.S.: Lanceleot Press,

1985, pp. 8-13; McKay, K., *A Vision of Greatness: The History of Milford Haven 1790–1990*, Haverfordwest: Bruce Harvatt Associates, 1989, p. 12. For details of the Nantucket Quaker-whalers, see Byers, E., *The Nation of Nantucket: Society and Politics in an Early American Commercial Center, 1660–1829*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987; Forman, H.C., *Nantucket*, Nantucket: Mill Hill Press, 1966; Philbrick, N., *Away off Shore: Nantucket Island and its people, 1601–1890*, Nantucket: Mill Hill Press, 1994; Leach, R., and Gow, P., *Quaker Nantucket*, Nantucket: Mill Hill Press, 1997.

11. It is suggested that during the War of Independence at least 5000 barrels of oil was on the island. See Rees, *History of the Quakers in Wales*, p. 265.

12. They fished for the most part around the south American coast to the Falklands, along the west coast of Africa and to the Cape of Good Hope. See McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 12.

13. Mrs John Farrar (Eliza Ware Rotch Farrar), *Recollections of Seventy Years*, Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1865, pp. 1-2. Other details are provided in Rotch, W., *Memorandum written by William Rotch in the eightieth year of his age,* Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1916, pp. 1-14; Thomas, F., *The Builders of Milford*, Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire Telegraph, 1920, pp. 9-13; Trider, *History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, pp. 14-27.

14. Nantucket Historical Association Library Collection (hereafter NHA), Ms. 278, folder 3. Letter from Batchelor Hussey, Nantucket, to Sir Henry Clinton, New York, 12 April 1779. See also Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest (hereafter HRO), D/BT/51; Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 14-25.

15. Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 16-17, 82-89 (copy of Thomas Jenkins's Complaint). For more information on Rotch and his family, see the Sturgis Library, Barnstable, Mass. Henry Crocker Kittredge Collection. Ms. 4 (William Rotch Papers) which includes correspondence, shipping papers and accounts books, 1793–1833.

16. For example, see HRO, D/BT/53. Printed representation on behalf of the Quakers to the President and Executive Council, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and others…6 December 1781.

17. Rees, *History of the Quakers in Wales*, p. 265.

18. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 21.

19. Led by Samuel Enderby in 1776 who sent a fleet to the southern oceans.

20. For a clear appreciation of the difficulties faced by the Nantucketers and the development of the London Southern Whale Fisheries, see Stackpole, E.A., *Whales and Destiny*: *The Rivalry between America, France and Britain for the Control of the Southern Whale Fishery 1785–1825*, Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972, Chapters 1-2, 4–6; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 19-21.

21. The divisiveness of the war between Britain and America had led to a separate community developing one hundred miles north of the Hudson River. These Quaker-whalers were known as the 'Continental faction'.

22. They were to pay 15*s*. per ton compared to the previous £18. 3*d*. For details of the negotiations, see Trider, *History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, pp. 28-33.

23. For a description of the passage to Dartmouth, see NHA, Ms. 335, folder 487 (Edouard A. Stackpole Papers). A copy of a letter from Daniel Starbuck to Daniel Howland, Nantucket, 1 February 1786.

24. By 1786 there were 164 settlers, 150 whalemen and six ships. Details are provided in Trider, *History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, Chapters 4–7.

25. A brief outline of the area is provided in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 29.

26. Mrs Morgan, *A Tour to Milford Haven in the year 1791*, London: John Stockdale, 1795, p. 299 (letter XLII, 21 September 1791.

27. Born in 1730, Hamilton's main passion was archaeology. He was instrumental in uncovering the remains of Pompeii, and his 'finds' are part of the British Museum collection. In 1764, he was appointed 'envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Naples'—a post he occupied until 1800. In 1772, he was knighted for his services to the country. As a consequence of his archaeological work, he wrote about volcanic activity on Mount Vesuvius and Etna. See Sir William Hamilton, *Some*

particulars of the present state of Mount Vesuvius, with the account of a journey into the province of Abruzzo and a voyage to the island of Ponza…read at the Royal Society, May 4 1786, London: J. Nichols, 1786. He composed treatises on earthquakes between 1772 and 1783. He died on 19 April 1803, aged 73, and was buried at Steynton parish church. For brief details, see Rees, J.F., *The Story of Milford*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1957, p. 21, and for Hamilton's life and career, see Fothergill, A.B., *Sir William Hamilton Envoy Extraordinary*, London: Faber & Faber, 1969; Constantine, D., *Fields of Fire: A Life of Sir William Hamilton*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001.

28. Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 17.

29. The country seat was at Colby, outside Milford.

30. Rees, *Story of Milford*, p. 29.

31. Further details are provided in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth (hereafter NLW), Hamilton and Greville papers, and in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 30.

32. NLW, Hamilton and Greville papers, no. 41; Rees, *Story of Milford*, p. 21.

33. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and offered papers on geology, the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, and was in contact with Sir Joseph Banks, the president of the Society, on astronomical and botanical issues.

34. Greville had a penchant for young girls, notably Amy Lyons (alias Emma Hart) whom he seduced and possibly 'sold off' to his uncle, Sir William Hamilton, in 1784 when he fell into debt. At the age of 54 and recently widowed, Hamilton, although initially reluctant to enter into a relationship with this young woman, became besotted. He arranged to pay off Greville's debts in return for the favours of this 'lady'. Ken McKay, however, suggests that this is an unfair assessment as there is little proof of such an arrangement. Apart from his connection with Milford, Hamilton is probably best known for this second marriage to Emma Hart, and her later affair with Lord Horatio Nelson. See Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 47-52; Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, pp. 22-23, Rees, *Story of Milford*, p. 135 (Appendix A: The Hamilton–Greville Connection); Constantine, *Fields of Fire*, pp. 128-30, 133-53; Russell, J., *Nelson and the Hamiltons*, London: Anthony Blond, 1969; McKay, K., *A Remarkable Relationship*, Haverfordwest: Heritage and Maritime Museum Milford Haven, 1992; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 9-10.

35. Hamilton was alarmed at the costs incurred by his nephew who clearly ran short of funds when the town was being built in the mid-1790s. See NLW, Hamilton and Greville papers, no. 101. Letter of A. Ross to Sir William Hamilton, 29 April 1794.

36. Stated in a letter to a London Merchant, 7 July 1792. See McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 35.

37. For details, see McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 31.

38. Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, pp. 197-215; Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 20.

39. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 13.

40. NLW, Ms. 14005C.

41. Rotch, *Memorandum*, p. 43.

42. The Head of the Board of Trade.

43. Letter to London merchants, 7 July 1792, and cited in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 35.

44. This would consist of a customs house, and the building of harbour facilities for repair of ships and for the loading of provisions. Furthermore, there was a desire to create a regular 'packet service' between Hubberston (Hakin) and Waterford, Ireland. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 11.

45. Cited in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 35. In the early 1780s the Board, at the behest of the London merchants, had offered the British whalers a bounty of 40*s*. per ton and spared apprentices from impressment into the navy.

46. Cited in Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 24. His attitude changed once he realised that the weight of the London merchants was behind the Milford venture, and thus the Colonial Whale Fishery would not be able to compete. A letter from Governor Parr to the Friends (Halifax, 24 August 1791) which set out the less than generous terms for removal is included in Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, pp. 15-16.

47. HRO, HDX/656/1 (30 Geo III, c.55).

48. Stokes had left England in the summer of 1790 and returned early in 1791. He persuaded the Government to endorse the Milford plan 'lest these valuable people will be in due course of a few years lost to every country'. See McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 33.

49. For copies of the proposal written by the Nantucket Friends at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, to remove to Milford Haven and correspondences concerning the removal (c. 1790–1791), see NHA, Ms. 335, folders 487, 493.

50. This was, however, refused by the Board of Trade as the properties, if was felt, ought to be sold at their market value.

51. The Board of Trade agreed to pay a £50 grant to each family as well as £2000 to cover costs and loses once the Quakers were settled at Milford with the provision that there were five or more families involved.

52. Rees, *Quakers in Wales*, pp. 265-66.

53. Letter from C.F. Greville, King's Mews, 21 February 1791. See Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, pp. 18-19.

54. Arguments over the dates of their arrival are discussed in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 36-37.

55. Starbuck Snr was a trustee on the use of common land in Dartmouth. His will of 17 January 1783 was proved at Canterbury Consistory Court on 2 May 1805. A copy is available at HRO, D/BT/29.

56. For example, Thomas Owen of Waterford. See Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 17.

57. John Grubb c. 1793.

58. Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 25.

59. Also a Trustee on the use of Common Land in Dartmouth. In 1791 he was appointed as a Commissioner of Peace and a member of the Grand Jury as well as an Assessor for Dartmouth. See Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 25. Details of later property transactions and their removal from Dartmouth, N.S., are given in Trider, *History of the Dartmouth Quakers*, p. 133.

60. In December 1797, Judith applied for the membership of her three children, Elizabeth, Rebecca and William, to the Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting. See GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 6.12.1797; Milford, 19.4.1798.

61. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 7.10.1765; Milford, 2.3.1796.

62. Abiel's other daughters, Abiel Swain and Sarah (Sally) Macy, did not, however, emigrate to Milford. I am grateful to Elizabeth Oldham at the Nantucket Historical Association for a transcript of this diary. See NHA, Ms. 118 (Folger Family Papers), folder 1. Diary of Abiel (Coleman) Folger December 1805–March 1811—a further copy is available at HRO, HDX/250/2 (Starbuck Papers). Whaling masters included Jonathan Barnard, Libni Barnard, Edmund Macy and Silas Paddock. Nathaniel Macy was a ship's carpenter, Benjamin Robinson and John Foster were coopers, and Obadiah Worth was a sailmaker. Benjamin Holmes of Halifax, NS., also sought to join the group with his six ships and eighty-nine sailors. The total expenditure was calculated by Greville at £8150. Details of these and the defaulters are provided in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 34, 37-38.

63. A fleet worth £12,000. Details are given in Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny*, p. 203.

64. Those who intended to resettle at Milford were (italicised are those who eventually did so): *Barnabus Swain and family*; *Peter Macy and family*; Daniel Grieve and family; *Timothy Folger and family*; *Benjamin Folger and family*; *David Coleman and family*; Seth Coleman and family; Stephen Waterman and family; Jonathan Coffin and family; William Ray and family; John Chadwick and family; *Jonathan Paddock*; *Frederick Coffin*; and *Nathaniel Macy*.

65. Copies of Rotch's negotiations in England and France between 1785–86 are available at NHA, Ms. 144 (Starbuck Family Papers), folder 23. See also Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 38-45; Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 3-6; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 25.

66. Rotch, *Memorandum*, p. 50.

67. NHA, Ms. 335, folder 935. A copy of a letter from L. Coffin to Shubael Gardner, Dunkerque, 10 March 1786. Later proclamations (c. September 1790–July 1791) from the French

Revolutionary Government guaranteed assistance to the Nantucket whalemen. See NHA, Ms. 366, folders 4 and 5. Proclamation du roi, Sur le decret de l'Assembee Nationale du 16 Septembre 1790, portent que la creance des Nantuckois sera exceptee de l'arriere. Du 21 Septembre 1790. Paris; Loi Relative aux Nantucquois etablis en France, & a ceux qui desireoient y venire dans la suite…le 25 Juillet 1791. Paris. These negotiations are discussed further in Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 7-20; McKay, K., *The Rotches of Castle Hall*, Milford Haven: privately printed, 1996, pp. 33-42.

68. Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 50-51. For details of the negotiations see pp. 45-48.

69. Rotch, *Memorandum*, p. 52.

70. Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 52-59, 70-77 (petition), 78-81 (answer of the President). This can be contrasted to the efforts of Benjamin Franklin who sought to establish a firm alliance between the French revolutionary government and the Americans. There was also a mistaken notion that Franklin was a Quaker and, therefore, Friends may have desired to distance themselves from his activities although there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Certainly, Franklin's maternal grandfather, Peter Folger, was the 'spiritual father' of Nantucket Quakerism, and Franklin used his 'Quaker' associations to influence the French government from 1776 onwards. But, at the same time as he was seeking peaceful negotiations abroad, Franklin was orchestrating a war against the Indians, and another between Pennsylvania against Delaware. This was very 'un-Quaker' like behaviour, which would ultimately lead to the end of William Penn's 'Holy Experiment'. See Louis, J.H., 'The Nantucket Quakers' Message as an Alternative to Benjamin Franklin's Message to the French Revolution', *Quaker Studies* 5 (2000), p. 15.

71. Massillon Public Library, Massillon, Ohio (hereafter MPL), B-163-16. William Rotch Snr to Thomas Rotch, London, 6mo 18th 1791. This correspondence is also available online at: http://www.massillonmemory.org/cocoon/kendal/rotch-wales.xml (accessed May 2010).

72. MPL, B-163-22. William Rotch Snr to Thomas Rotch, Dunkirk, 9mo 30th 1792.

73. MPL, B-164-24. William Rotch Snr to Thomas Rotch, London, 2mo 26th 1793; B-163-25. William Rotch Snr to Thomas Rotch, Bristol, 6mo 27th 1793; B-163-26. William Rotch Snr to Thomas Rotch, London, 9mo 7th 1793.

74. Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. vii–viii.

75. Morgan, *Tour to Milford Haven*, pp. 298-99.

76. *Report from the committee to whom the book, intituled, report, plans and estimates, for fortifying Milford haven, by Lt. Col. Bastide, director of Engineers, Nov. 1757 was referred together with a survey of the harbour of Milford Haven*, London: House of Commons, 1802.

77. For details, see Rees, *Story of Milford*, p. 18.

78. They brought with them at least five ships, a crew of between 80 and 100 men, and a total settlement of close on 100. The figures vary. For example, Rozelle Coleman Jones has noted that the fleet of thirteen ships which set out on 31 August 1792 and arrived on 22 September 1792 had a crew of 182 men and 161 passengers. See Coleman Jones, R., 'Nantucketeers Build a Whaling Town in Wales', *Historic Nantucket* (April 1955), p. 21.

79. Dudley, E., *The Life of Mary Dudley*, London, 1825, pp. 159-61.

80. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 341. Agreement for Robeston Hall.

81. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 310 (letter, 18 September 1793); no. 313 (letter, 16 October 1792): Greville stated that the Nantucket Quakers had 'found stowage for Bed & chair a piece'.

82. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 315 (undated).

83. Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 23.

84. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 310 (letter, 6 January 1795).

85. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 310 (letter, 6 January 1795).

86. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 320 (letter, 12 January 1795).

87. See Thomas, *Builders of Milford,* pp. 23-25. Shortly after the settlement of the first Quaker families at Milford in 1792, Greville attempted to persuade the Government to allow the port to be included in the 'American Intercourse Bill' which not only allowed ships to dock with tobacco and

rice, but also cargoes of tar and timber from Virginia and the Carolinas. He wrote that: 'The exclusion of the best port in Wales and indeed the best western port of Great Britain from the privilege of importing rice and tobacco is felt as a severe restriction.' Unfortunately, the Government refused to grant these concessions and Greville witnessed financial uncertainties thereafter. By January 1802 words of warning from his generous benefactor, Hamilton, were expressed: 'Nothing at present disturbs me but my debt and the nonsense I am obliged to submit to here to avoid coming to an explosion, which would be attended by many disagreeable effects, and would completely destroy the comfort of the best man and best friend I have in the world (i.e. Nelson).' See McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 39, 50; Rees, *Story of Milford*, p. 27.

88. Now Hamilton Terrace. See HRO, HDX/1018/1. This was a lease for a piece of ground (100x200 feet) with all buildings built or to be built therein between Greville and Starbuck (10 November 1803).

89. Possibly now the Haven Hotel.

90. A sense of this is provided in the memoirs of William Rotch Snr as well as in private correspondence. Before returning to New Bedford in 1794 he stated in a letter to Mary Rodman that 'I know by the various accounts you have, and will receive, that great apprehensions for our safety will attend our friends; but we are yet quiet in this place, and our whole family favour'd with health; how long this enjoyment may be permitted we cannot pretend to determine even its probability; but we are not yet willing to flee; hoping the storm may not reach us this year; terrible indeed hath been the executions in the Capital, & its environs, as well as some few other places, which copied after them, the Law which was intended to secure persons & property troden under foot; the number which fell victims to the murderers cannot be ascertain'd but is supposed to be from four to six thousand; at present it hath pretty much subsided, and I ardently desire no such indelible stain may ever be again permitted in this or any other nation; the dreadfull manner of many of those executions are too horrid to relate, therefore I wish to pass them by.' See MPL, A-22-24. William Rotch Snr to Mary Rodman, Dunkirk, 10mo 1st 1792; Rotch, *Memorandum*, pp. 60-67.

91. Rotch's certificate of removal and that of his wife, Elizabeth, and their four children, from Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting, London, was dated 5.8.1801. See GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Milford, 2.9.1801.

92. Details are provided in Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 51-52, 54-62, 65-66; McKay, *Rotches of Castle Hall*, pp. 62-67.

93. Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 52-53.

94. Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, p. 53.

95. Two were battleships: the *Milford* and the *Lavini*a, and the other, *Nautilus*, was a sloop.

96. Barrallier had formerly been an assistant to the Inspector General of Naval Construction, and was both generous and formidable. See Rees, *Story of Milford*, pp. 26-27, 121 n. 22; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 13-14.

97. NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds nos. 327, 343. Agreement for the building of an inn in Milford at a cost of £785 (12 April 1793); Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 24.

98. Cited in Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, pp. 28-29; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 42. The details of who developed the plans for the town were not recorded.

99. He died in 1834 at Toulon where he had returned after the restoration of the Bourbons. See McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 14-15.

100. Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 29; Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 22.

101. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 14.

102. This was agreed in 1793 and the 'New Inn' was opened on 24 September 1800. In August 1802, after the visit of Hamilton, his wife and Nelson, the inn was named the Lord Nelson Hotel. See NLW, Eaton, Evans and Williams Deeds no. 327.

103. Details are provided in Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 22; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 50-52.

104. See GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 7.11.1792, 1.10.1794; Milford, 6.5.1795.

105. A letter from Robert Fulke Greville to Samuel Starbuck at Milford makes reference to this enterprise. See Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 35; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 73. A further discussion of the bank's history is provided in Roland G. Thorne, 'Thomas Philipps of Milford: Emigrant Extraordinary', *National Library of Wales Journal* 20.1 (Summer 1977), pp. 1-13.

106. A letter from C. F. Greville to Samuel Starbuck (c. 1793), and cited in Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 16.

107. Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, pp. 27, 29.

108. On 5 May 1808, Gayer Starbuck received a twenty-one year lease for a 'lately created brew-house…with quay, tank, malthouse, offices…and allotment of ground'. See HRO, HDX/1018/2.

109. NLW, Hamilton and Greville Papers, no. 106 (n.d.). Memorandum Relative to the Establishment proposed at Milford Haven, being a College and an Infirmary out of the residue of Col. Read's Estate; no. 107. Memorials presented to George III by the Right Hon. C.F. Greville, of Paddington, William Read, Esq., of Greenwich…Greville pleads for a proposal to establish a College, a Free School, and an Infirmary at Milford, out of the residue of the estate; no. 108 (n.d.). A memorandum on the teaching of Mathematics at the proposed school at Milford. Ken McKay has provided details of these undertakings as well as a proposed infirmary for the poor which was never built; see McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 52-58. The College declined after Greville's death in 1809, although an observatory was built.

110. Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, p. 39.

111. Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 39-40.

112. NHA, Ms. 118, 31 December 1807. Further evidence of the whaling activities of the Nantucket Quaker-whalers and their loneliness can be gathered from the logs of their ships available at Nantucket Historical Association Library. See NHA, Ms. 220 (Ships' Log Collection), Log. 104 (Hannah and Eliza); NHA, Ms. 220, Log. 334 (Aurora). For example, on 4 November 1820 the log for the Aurora noted that 'At 6 am Hamilton fell overboard, the third time this voyage', while on Christmas Day 1820 the keeper wrote, 'This is I think the most tedious storm we have yet experienced, for although the thermometer ranges at 34 to 35 degrees, the air is piercing cold and the brig unusually wet. A most gloomy Christmas. I again unavailingly sighed for the comforts of family—of my much loved friends.'

113. For details, see Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, pp. 22-23.

114. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 1.10.1794.

115. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 1.10.1794. In February 1795, he was also appointed as an overseer of the meeting and to act as the registrar of births, marriages and burials. Furthermore, in October 1796, along with his father and mother, he became an elder of the monthly meeting at Milford. His wife, Alice, was similarly appointed to this position in April 1797. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 4.2.1795, 5.10.1796, 5.4.1797.

116. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 7.1.1795.

117. From 1791 land for a meeting house and burial ground was provided at a peppercorn rent and two years abeyance from ground rent. In August 1807 the plans for the meeting house and school were brought before the monthly meeting along with an estimate of £350. Subscription lists in 1811 provide information about the donations of local Friends to the proposed building. See GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Milford and Haverfordwest, 9.8.1807, 4.12.1811; HRO, HDX/1018/15. Specifications and plans of the Milford Meeting House and for the enclosing of the burial ground (c. 1806–11). These developments are also discussed in Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 25.

118. NHA, Ms.118, 1 March 1811, and cited in Jones, 'Nantucketers Build a Whaling Town in Wales', p. 24.

119. Jones, 'Nantucketers Build a Whaling Town in Wales', p. 21.

120. Jones, 'Nantucketers Build a Whaling Town in Wales', p. 22; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 40. Elizabeth Rotch was also determined to avoid the company of Emma Hamilton when she visited in 1802, but was unsuccessful as Hamilton 'resolved that it should not be said that Mrs Rotch *would not* receive her'. In her daughter's recollections there is a clear indication of the formalities as well as the frosty reception Mrs Hamilton received that day: 'so one very warm day, when all our doors and windows stood open, she [Hamilton] walked into our drawing-room, where my mother and I were sitting, and greeted us very familiarly. Though I was but a child, I was struck with the coldness of my mother's reception, and wondered that she was not more cordial to such a lovely and fascinating guest'. See Farrar, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 50-51.

121. Bullard, J.M., *The Rotches*, Milford, NH: Cabinet Press, 1847, p. 211.

122. NHA, Ms. 118, 22 September 1808.

123. A letter from Charles Francis Greville to Robert Fulke Greville, September 1792; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 37.

124. NHA, Ms. 118, 'Instructions on Inside Cover'.

125. NHA, Ms. 118, 23 and 25 July 1807, 5 October 1807. In December 1808, she recorded a dream that she had the previous night whereby her daughter, Peggy Grieve, was dead. This again illustrates the pain she suffered being so far away from her American family. NHA, Ms. 118, 10 December 1808.

126. NHA, Ms. 118, 24 October 1807, 5 November 1807, 21 December 1807.

127. NHA, Ms. 118, 18 January 1808, 12 February 1808.

128. NHA, Ms. 118, 2–4 February 1810.

129. Letter from C.F. Greville, 7 September 1801. See Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 32; GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 4.8.1802 (burial note).

130. NHA, Ms. 118, 24 June 1809, 7–8, 10 May 1810, 17 July 1810.

131. GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 2.6.1813. His resignation letter was dated Castle Hall, 1 June 1813.

132. GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Milford, 7.7.1813.

133. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 74.

134. NHA, Ms. 118, passim.

135. NHA, Ms. 118, 21–22 September 1809, 4 October 1809, 10 October 1809.

136. For example, between August and October 1807 the Folgers bought a donkey, a mahogany sofa for £5 and received some watermelons which were 'a grate rarity hear'. NHA, Ms. 118, 21 August 1807, 1 October 1807, 6 October 1807.

137. For example, on 19 January 1808, Abiel wrote that she had been invited to Castle Hall, but was unable to attend. Benjamin Rotch consequently sent her some cheese-cake and 'pine apple'. The following day she noted that 'all the young people are gon to a Second breakfast to Castle Hall whare thay had cold tungs ham chickings & all sorts preserve cake & wine & coffee tea & Staid until 12 o clock'. NHA, Ms. 118, 19–20 January 1808.

138. NHA, Ms. 118, passim.

139. This was to commemorate the Battle of the Nile. For example, Abiel wrote in her diary in August 1807 that 'a grate sailing match Larkin [near Milford] won the Silver Cup'. NHA, Ms. 118, 1 August 1807.

140. In late July and early August 1807 she recorded that 'this is a grat Day the Church is finishd this Day' while in September she noted 'I rode in my carr & Donky up to see the new church & think it a handsom one'. She also witnessed the 'grate Jubely' festivities in October 1809; the Queen's birthday in January 1810, and the celebrations for the 55th anniversary of the king's reign. NHA, Ms. 118, 30 July 1807, 18 September 1807, 25 October 1809, 18 January 1810, 25 October 1810.

141. NHA, Ms. 118, passim.

142. NHA, Ms. 118, 8 January 1808.

143. NHA, Ms. 118, 12 August 1808.

144. NHA, Ms. 118, 12 April 1809. For details of Friends' attitudes towards plainness and their behaviour, see Gummere, A.M., *The Quaker: A Study in Costume,* Philadelphia, 1901; Kendall, J., 'The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress', *Costume* 19 (1985), pp. 58–74; Hall, D.J., 'Plainness of Speech, Behaviour and Apparel in Eighteenth-century English Quakerism', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), pp. 307-18; Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*, pp. 136-41.

145. NHA, Ms. 118, 14 February 1809, 16 February 1809, 18 February 1809, 3–5 March 1809.

146. NHA, Ms. 118, 23 July 1810.

147. The Folgers, who also owned a small farm, sold surplus milk to the local residents. See Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 23.

148. See HRO, HDX/1018/17–23; D/BT 33a-d; 34, 35. For a copy of the warrants, see Griffith, *Quakers in Pembrokeshire*, p. 23. Daniel died on 10 November 1818, and in his will he left an estate valued at under £4,000 to his wife and five children. See National Archives, Society of Friends Registers (Pembrokeshire). No. 644, p. 130; NLW, SD1819/263 (3 May 1819); HRO, D/BT/36. Statement of the effects of the late Daniel Starbuck, 4 May 1819; HRO, HDX/1018/5–7. Copy of the probate. His father, Samuel Starbuck Snr nevertheless paid his tithes, as an entry in Abiel Folger's diary suggests that 'my H[usband] had bin paying tythes a most unreasonable thing to a widow Right but not right'. See NHA, Ms. 118, 17 January 1810.

149. GAS, D/DSF/365, monthly meeting at Haverfordwest, 5.4.1797. There were occasions when the Quakers were prepared to use the law to gain redress of grievances. In December 1809, Abiel Folger recorded in her diary that her husband was putting together details of a case against the owners of a 'packet', which was scheduled to be heard in London. See NHA, Ms. 118, 7–9, 11, 25 December 1809.

150. Brinkley, R., 'Religion, 1815–1974', in D. Howell (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History, IV: Modern Pembrokeshire 1815–1974*, Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire Historical Society, 1993, pp. 374-75.

151. This is substantiated in McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, p. 45.

152. Cited in Thomas, *Builders of Milford*, p. 35.

153. McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 48-49.

154. Ayton, R., *A Voyage Round Great Britain Undertaken between the Years 1813 and 1823*, 2 vols., repr. London: Scholar Press, 1978, I, p. 100.

155. For example, the minute book records the issuing of a removal certificate of Ruth Bunker. See GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Milford, 13.3.1806. Further removals in the early nineteenth century were prompted by correspondence from America Friends. In September 1818, Joseph Rotch wrote from English Prairie, Princeton, Indiana, to his uncle at Milford extolling the virtues of the land and urging him to emigrate. See NHA, Ms. 144, folder 81, no. 7, 25 September 1818.

156. Details of the decline of Friends in both England and Wales are provided in Morgan, N., *Lancashire Quakers and the Establishment 1660–1730*, Halifax: Ryburn, 1993, Chapter 7; Scott, D., *Quakerism in York 1650–1720*, York: Borthwick Institute, 1991; Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*, Chapter 7.

157. GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Milford, 7.10.1721.

158. For example, in May 1818 Daniel Starbuck Jnr removed to Swansea and supplied oil for lighthouses, but in December 1822 he was disowned for marrying outside the Quaker community. He was nevertheless readmitted into membership in February 1826. The Barraliers had moved earlier in February 1810. This was a setback for the small Quaker community as Abiel Folger noted that they 'left the Den joining us it feels lonely as we livd nibourly', but more significant was her comment that 'now we have a set of Rogs [rogues] & villains moved into the hous'. Later that month she noted that events had taken a more sinister turn when the new neighbours 'broke through into ouer kitchen chimney in attempting to mend theirs thay are a Durty set & bad'. See GAS, D/DSF/366, monthly meeting at Milford, 4.6.1818; Williams, M.F., 'The Society of Friends

in Glamorgan 1654–1900', MA thesis, University of Wales, 1950, p. 315; NHA, Ms. 118, 9 and 19 February 1810. For a fuller discussion of the economic reversals of the Friends at Milford, see Rees, *Story of Milford*, Chapter 3; McKay, *Vision of Greatness*, pp. 68-84.

159. Rees, *Story of Milford*, pp. 24-25.

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